

Message Text

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FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5097

INFO AEC GERMANTOWN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 IAEA VIENNA 8241

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, PORG, IAEA UR, US

SUBJECT: CONSULTATION WITH SOVIET MISSION -
SEPTEMBER 12, 1974

1. SUMMARY: DURING CONSULTATION BETWEEN US AND USSR MISSIONS, SOVIETS DISPLAYED CONSIDERABLE SENSITIVITY ABOUT ENTIRE SUBJECT OF PNES, AND INDICATED CONTINUED PREFERENCE THAT INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY THIS SUBJECT (ASIDE FROM US-USSR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS) BE KEPT WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF IAEA. SOVIET GOVERNOR AND HEAD OF GENERAL CONFERENCE DELEGATION MOROKHOV ALSO INDICATED VERY TENTATIVELY, FOR FIRST TIME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, THAT THERE MAY BE SOME SUPPORT WITHIN SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR CONSIDERING SHIFT IN TRADITIONAL SOVIET ATTITUDE OF TOTAL OPPOSITION TO ANY FORM OF AGENCY SAFEGUARDS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES: MOROKHOV ALSO HINTED AT POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS MAY WISH DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT WITH US DURING OCTOBER BILATERAL MEETINGS IN MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIET AND US MISSION STAFFS, HEADED BY RESPECTIVE GOVERNORS MOROKHOV AND TAPE, MET AT SOVIET MISSION ON SEPTEMBER 12 FOR USUAL CONSULTATION PRECEDING IAEA
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BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 13 AND GENERAL

CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 16-23. BULK OF MEETING WAS TAKEN UP BY RELATIVELY ROUTINE REVIEW OF BOARD AND GC AGENDA ITEMS; HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS REVIEW FOLLOW.

3. PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS: MOROKHOV NOTED THAT THIS SUBJECT COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE SHARP QUESTION AT TIME OF NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE. HE DID NOT WISH DIRECTLY ADDRESS SUBSTANCE OF PNE QUESTION PRIOR TO OCTOBER MEETINGS IN MOSCOW. HOWEVER, USSR HAD NO RPT NO PROBLEMS WITH PROPOSED PROCEDURES FOR AGENCY TO USE IN RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR SERVICES IN CONNECTION PNE PROJECTS, AND WELCOMED DRAFT US RESOLUTION ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH USSR WAS READY TO CO-SPONSOR OR SUPPORT IN ANY FORM. REGARDING AMENDMENT TO US PROPOSAL SUGGESTED BY FRG (TO ESTABLISH BOARD COMMITTEE OPEN TO ALL AGENCY MEMBERS ON STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE V OF NPT), USSR WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS (MOROKHOV STATED EXPLICITLY THAT USSR HAD FULL FREEDOM TO DECIDE QUESTIONS OF THIS SORT, IN CONSULTATION WITH US, HERE IN VIENNA WITHOUT REFERENCE TO MOSCOW), BUT DID REGARD IT AS PERHAPS PREMATURE. USSR WAS INTERESTED IN IDEA OF SUCH COMMITTEE, BUT QUESTIONS SUCH AS COMPOSITION (WHICH MUST BE SETTLED BEFORE ANYTHING FURTHER WAS DONE) SHOULD BE RESOLVED BEFORE ACTING. HOWEVER, FRG SUGGESTION ALSO SHOWED AGENCY TAKING INITIATIVE, AND IN THIS RESPECT WAS REGARDED AS QUITE ACCEPTABLE TO USSR; MOROKHOV STRESSED ESPECIALLY EFFECT IN KEEPING FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION IN AGENCY, RATHER THAN IN UN, MENTIONING REFERENCE TO PNE IN UN SYG'S ANNUAL REPORT RELEASED PREVIOUS WEEK. TAPE STATED THAT US DID NOT WISH TO IMPLY NEGATIVE REACTION TO FRG SUGGESTION, BUT FELT IT REQUIRED FURTHER DISCUSSION AND, IN ANY EVENT, WAS NOT REALLY GERMANE TO US DRAFT RES, WHICH RELATED ENTIRELY TO ORGANIZATION OF SECRETARIAT. MOROKHOV INDICATED THAT USSR WOULD ADVISE FRG OF ITS POSITION, BUT ALSO ITS FEELING THAT BOARD SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE CALLED ON TO ACT ON THIS SUGGESTION AT 9/13 SESSION.

4. ARGENTINE SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT: DURING LENGTHY CONFIDENTIAL

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DISCUSSION OF STATE OF PLAY AT THAT MOMENT REGARDING IMPASSE BETWEEN SECRETARIAT AND ARGENTINA OVER APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS FOR DURATION AND CONTINUATION OF SAFEGUARDS AFTER TERMINATION OF AGREEMENT FOR ARGENTINE RIO TERCERO REACTOR, MOROKHOV WENT DOWN LINE STRONGLY FOR DURATION/TERMINATION PROVISIONS IN ALL INFCIRC/66 SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENTS FOLLOWING CONCEPTS ACCEPTED BY BOARD IN FEBRUARY 1974 IN DOCUMENT GOV/1621. USSR FELT THAT

BOARD HAVING ADOPTED THESE CONCEPTS, IT WAS INCUMBENT ON SECRETARIAT TO LIVE UP TO THEM. THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT BREAK LINE AND THUS CREATE PRECEDENT FOR OTHERS DOING SO. USSR WOULD VOTE AGAINST BOARD ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH AGREEMENT NOT EMBODYING CONCEPTS CONTAINED GOV/1621, AND AS SUPPLIER ITS POSITION WAS CATEGORICALLY AGAINST ANY SUCH AGREEMENTS. USSR WAS NOT ANTI-ARGENTINE, BUT RATHER FELT AS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THAT GOV/1621 CONCEPTS ONCE ADOPTED, SHOULD BE MAINTAINED; THEY WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE OTHERS THAT AGREEMENT DESIRED BY ARGENTINES NOT ACCEPTABLE AND SHOULD NOT BE PRESSED TO DECISION. HE CONCLUDED THAT CANADA, AS SUPPLIER IN THIS CASE, WOULD DO MUCH TO DETERMINE POSITION OF ALL SUPPLIERS ON ISSUE. TAPE NOTED THAT CANADA HAD MADE POSITION CLEAR THAT AGREEMENT NOT EMBODYING CONCEPTS CONTAINED GOV/1621 WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE, AND THAT CANADA NOW REQUIRED SUPPORT OF OTHER SUPPLIERS. MOROKHOV INDICATED THAT THEY HAD THIS FROM USSR.

5. DISCUSSION OF OTHER BOARD ITEMS WAS BRIEF. MOROKHOV INDICATED USSR HAD NO PROBLEM WITH REVISED AGENCY DEFINITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS PURSUANT LONDON OCEAN DUMPING CONVENTION, NOR WITH REDRAFT OF DESCRIPTION

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 IAEA VIENNA 8241

OF AGENCY PROGRAM FOR PREPARATION OF CODES AND GUIDES FOR

POWER REACTOR SAFETY. REGARDING AMENDED AGREEMENT BETWEEN AGENCY AND MONACO EXTENDING LIFE OF MONACO LABORATORY UNTIL 1981, MOROKHOV REMARKED WITH SMILE THAT HE WAS GOING TO VISIT LABORATORY SHORTLY AND COULD HARDLY OPPOSE AGREEMENT. COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST TIME THAT WE KNOW OF THAT SOVIETS, WHO HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN NEGATIVE LINE TO EFFECT THAT AGENCY SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE OPERATING ANY LABORATORIES, HAVE HAD A GOOD WORD TO SAY FOR MONACO. END COMMENT. TAPE SUGGESTED ON PERSONAL BASIS THAT MONACO MIGHT FORM FOCUS OF MUTUAL COOPERATION BETWEEN US AND USSR IN SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF MARINE POLLUTION, IN MANNER SIMILAR TO SCIENTIFIC INTERCHANGE ON THEORETICAL PHYSICS THROUGH AGENCY'S TRIEST CENTER. MOROKHOV REMARKED THAT THIS WAS VERY INTERESTING PROPOSAL WHICH DESERVED FURTHER DISCUSSION; SUCH WORK COULD GO ON ANYWHERE - MONACO WAS NOT UNIQUE - BUT SUCH STEP WOULD BE IMPORTANT AS FURTHER SIGN OF OUR SUPPORT OF AGENCY.

6. REGARDING GENERAL CONFERENCE, USSR HAD FEW PROBLEMS. AFTER US BRIEFED THEM ON CONFLICTING CANDIDACIES FOR SINGLE BOARD SEAT FROM MIDEAST/SOUTH ASIA BEING ADVANCED BY IRAQ AND IRAN, SOVIET RESREP ARKADIEV NOTED THAT USSR FOLLOWED PRINCIPLE OF REGIONAL CHOICE AND WOULD VOTE FOR WHICHEVER CANDIDATE AHD SUPPORT OF MAJORITY IN REGION, BUT ALSO HOPED THAT

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MATTERS WOULD NOT COME TO HEAD-TO-HEAD CONFLICT WHICH HAD TO BE RESOLVED BY VOTE OF GC MEMBERS, HAD INFORMED BOTH CANDIDATES OF THIS HOPE AND WOULD DO SO AGAIN. US PROVIDED SOVIETS WITH COPY OF DRAFT RESOLUTION ON FINANCING OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WHICH INDONESIA PROPOSED TO SUBMIT. SOVIETS EXPRESSED HOPE THAT AT THIS GC DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD BE SHUT OFF ONCE AND FOR ALL; WHILE DRAFT RES WAS NOT RPT NOT FULLY SATISFACTORY IN ACCOMPLISHING THIS, IT COULD EASILY HAVE BEEN MUCH WORSE. SOVIETS CONFIRMED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO GC RULES OF PROCEDURE, AND STATED THEY WOULD CO-SPONSOR DRAFT RESOLUTION BEING PREPARED TO ASSIST IN CONTROLLING DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT AND ASSURING SMOOTH PASSAGE OF AMENDMENTS.

7. TURNING TO ZNAGGER COMMITTEE EXERCISE, TAPE NOTED THAT US HAD AT SOVIET REQUEST POSTPONED SUBMITTING SUPPLEMENTAL LETTERS TO DG WHICH WOULD A) RESTATE US POSITION REGARDING USE OF US SUPPLIED NUCLEAR MATERIALS OR EQUIPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH DEVELOPMENT OF PNE DEVICES AND B) RESTATE THAT US WAS CONTINUING EXPORTS OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT TO EURATOM IN EXPECTATION THAT IAEA/EURATOM SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT WOULD SHORTLY COME INTO FORCE. TIME AS APPROACHING WHEN US WOULD HAVE TO PROCEED WITH LETTER WHETHER OR NOT USSR COULD SUBMIT SIMILAR LETTERS WITH US. POINT OF US DOING THIS WAS PRESENTLY, IN LARGE PART, AS FURTHER INDICATION TO ITALY THAT IT MUCH

PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION OF NPT; TAPE INQUIRED AS TO STATUS OF USSR CONSIDERATION OF SIMILAR LETTERS. MOROKHOV STATED THAT USSR, IN PRINCIPLE, GENERALLY FAVORED ATTITUDE EMBODIED IN US LETTERS, AND WOULD LIKE TO GO AHEAD WITH US ON THIS, BUT THAT MATTER WAS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION IN MOSCOW, AND USSR RESPONSE MIGHT TAKE FORM OF EITHER STATEMENT, OR LETTER TO DG. TAPE NOTED US PLEASED TO HEAR OF SOVIET SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE. MOROKHOV INDICATED THAT WHILE SOVIET DEL WAS IN VIENNA, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER AND RESOLVE MATTER; US URGED THAT SOVIETS ATTEMPT TO DO THIS.

8. FINAL POINT OF DISCUSSION AROSE WHEN SOVIET RESREP ARKADIEV WAS ASKED BY MOROKHOV TO BRIEF US, AND MOROKHOV (WHO SAID HE HAD NOT YET HAD CHANCE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH ARKADIEV) ON CERTAIN COMMENTS WHICH ARKADIEV HAD MADE TO DG ON ADVANCE DRAFT TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT TO GC. (NOTE: SUBSTANCE THIS PARA CONFIDENTIAL

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FIRST REPORTED VIENNA 7981) ARKADIEV STATED MAJOR POINT ON WHICH HE HAD PRESSED DG WAS THAT SPEECH NOT GIVE NON-PARTIES TO NPT EXCUSE TO COLD-SHOULDER TREATY FURTHER BY MAKING MAJOR POINT OF ALLEGED INACTION ON NONCOMPLIANCE BY DEPOSITARIES WITH PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE VI. HE ALSO NOTED (IN TERMS ABOUT AS STRONG BUT WITH LESS EMOTION) THAT DG SEEMED TO BE CALLING FOR INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION OF PNES CONDUCTED BY MWS ON

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OWN TERRITORY, AND THAT DG SHOULD NOT RPT NOT SIMPLY ADOPT POSITION OF SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON THIS MATTER. RESPONDING, TAPE NOTED THAT US HAD WARNED DG THAT SOME OF HIS LANGUAGE COULD GIVE RISE TO QUESTIONS ON PART OF DEPOSITARIES. WITHOUT WISHING TO REFER DIRECTLY TO SPECIFICS ON SUBJECT OF PNE, WHICH WOULD BE DISCUSSED BILATERALLY IN MOSCOW, TAPE SUGGESTED THAT DEPOSITARIES SHOULD CONSIDER THINGS WHICH THEY COULD DO ON VOLUNTARY, NOT OBLIGATORY, BASIS, TO IMPRESS OTHERS IN THIS GENERAL AREA. WHILE NOT DISCOURAGING USSR COMMENTS TO DG ON SPEECH, HE NOTED THAT DEPOSITARIES MUST ALSO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF NEED FOR THEM TO DO THINGS WHICH WOULD BE HELPFUL. MOROKHOV STATED THAT HAVING HEARD ARKADIEV AND TAPE COMMENTS, HE SHARED VIEW THAT DG SHOULD REFRAIN FROM PINNING THINGS SO STRONGLY ON DEPOSITARIES, AND WAS CATEGORICALLY AGAINST ANY REFERENCES WHICH APPEARED TO SINGLE OUT USSR FOR CRITICISM. IF USSR POINT OF VIEW ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF SAFEGUARDS WAS TO CHANGE ANY -- HE REPEATED AND STRESSED IF -- IT WAS MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION IN MOSCOW IN OCTOBER AND HE DID NOT PROPOSE TO DISCUSS NOW. HOWEVER, HE DID ASK THAT DG SHOULD DELETE THESE REFERENCES FROM HIS SPEECH. STRESSING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FRANKLY, INFORMALLY AND PERSONALLY, MOROKHOV OPINED THAT THERE WAS GOOD PROGRESS IN CON-

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SIDERATION BY THOSE IN USSR ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF SAFEGUARDS RELATING TO NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS; BUT THAT MORE TIME WAS STILL NEEDED. THERE WERE "CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS" REMAINING WHOSE CONTINUING RESISTANCE MUST BE OVERCOME, AND IF SOVIET LEADERSHIP HEARD IAEA DG MAKING SERIES OF COMMENTS SUCH AS THIS, IT WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD. COMMENT: MOROKHOV STATEMENT WAS GENERAL ENOUGH THAT IT WAS SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER HE WAS TRYING TO ALLUDE TO PNE MATTERS WITHOUT SAYING SO, WAS DISCUSSING GENERAL SOVIET NUCLEAR SCENE OR WHAT. HOWEVER, MISOFFS PRESENT WERE UNANIMOUS IN OPINION THAT MOROKHOV WAS NOT RPT NOT MAKING THESE OBSERVATIONS ON BASIS THAT DG WOULD BE HELPFUL STRICTLY IN TERMS OF FURTHER MEASURES IN BILATERAL US-USSR CONTEXT, BUT RATHER, MOROKHOV'S CONCERN APPEARED TO BE WITH AGENCY SAFEGUARDS ACTIVITIES AND THEIR POSSIBLE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP TO USSR. HE APPEARED QUITE PENSIVE WHILE SPEAKING, AND GENUINELY CONCERNED THAT HIS POINT OF VIEW CAME THROUGH, WHILE

STRESSING ITS HIGHLY PERSONAL, INFORMAL AND FRANK NATURE. MISSION IS FAR FROM SUGGESTING THAT USSR IS LIKELY TO MAKE A VOLUNTARY SAFEGUARDS OFFER, OR WOULD EVEN CONSIDER SUCH A THING. HOWEVER, THIS IS FIRST INDICATION THAT WE HAVE SEEN THAT POLICY LEVELS OF USSR NUCLEAR ENERGY ESTABLISHMENT MIGHT HAVE GIVEN EVEN PASSING THOUGHT TO ANY MODIFICATION OF THEIR PREVIOUSLY-ADAMANT OPPOSITION TO ANYTHING RESEMBLING INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS IN AN NWS. IF THIS INDICATION IS AN ACCURATE SIGNAL THAT SUCH A SHIFT IN OPINION MAY BE UNDER CONSIDERATION, MISSION FEELS THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DELICATELY PROBE FURTHER DURING OCTOBER BILATERAL DISCUSSION IN MOSCOW TO SEE WHAT MIGHT COME OF IT. END COMMENT. TAPE

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